

'Freedom's Progress Here and Abroad'

CPYRGHT

# Allen Dulles Cites Superiority Of Freedom's Spiritual Assets

The address by Allen W. Dulles, Director Central Intelligence Agency, on "Freedom's Progress Here and Abroad":

As head of the Central Intelligence Agency, one of my chief tasks is to gather and analyze the facts for those who direct our foreign policy. This means a sifting and weighing of the mass of information that comes flooding into the C. I. A. in Washington from all over the globe and from many other of our government agencies—an average per month of fifty thousand items of foreign intelligence.

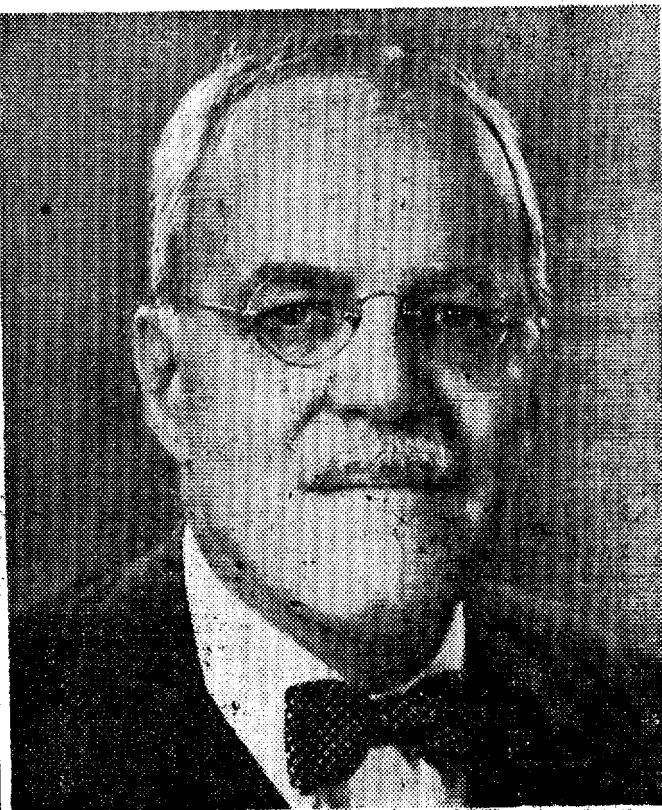
In doing this sifting and weighing, there are two possible approaches. First, there are those who would like to be guided by the optimism of Robert Browning: "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world,"—an excellent nineteenth century slogan. Others tell us, "The Lord helps those who help themselves." In this twentieth century, the sterner gospel is a better guide, and I shall apply it to the Subject of the Forum's meeting — "The Progress of Freedom."

The speakers who follow me will be dealing largely with that progress in the United States. I have received a special dispensation from Mrs. Reid to discuss the progress of freedom abroad. I do so in the deep conviction that this progress depends on the vitality we give freedom here at home.

## One-Third of the World

It does not take an estimate by the C. I. A. to tell us that the progress of freedom abroad has not been encouraging. There have been successes in Iran and in Guatemala, for example, but over the last decade more people have been lost to freedom than have regained it. The words of our Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal, endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, have a hollow sound for more than one-third of the world's population.

As Director of Central Intelligence, I must report the facts of the world situation as they are. Neither pride nor undue optimism can be allowed to distort the hard realities on which decisions involving our national survival are based.



Morris Warman

Allen W. Dulles

On the other hand, it is all too easy to underestimate our own great capabilities and the superiority in material and spiritual assets which the free world possesses over the Communist world.

One of our greatest assets is that all men aspire to be equal and free. This fact haunts the rulers of the Kremlin today for, even they, cannot change this law of nature and they know it. It is up to us, not only by example but by positive acts, to make the most of this driving force within mankind.

## The Kremlin's Fear

The Kremlin, by its own actions, has made it perfectly clear that the desire for freedom of the peoples under Soviet control is first among the fears of the rulers of the Soviet Union. Here is some of the evidence:

The Soviets have never tolerated a free election and they never can. They deny their own people all the freedoms which we take for granted. Their labor unions are under the police power of the state, used to coerce the workman into

greater and greater production for less and less reward. They have no resemblance to our free unions of the West, established by and in the interest of the working men to advance their own welfare.

They have erected an Iron Curtain to prevent free peoples from entering their country and to prevent their own people from leaving. This Iron Curtain is a hard cold reality of steel, of barbed wire and sentinel towers. While they have been erecting it, they have all the time been talking about their desire for co-existence. Now if the Soviet really wants such co-existence, why should they not evidence it in a practical fashion by taking down even one small section of this Iron Curtain?

And here is more evidence of the Soviets' fear of contact with freedom. They jam the air waves to keep out the voices of freedom. Our information indicates that the cost of this jamming is immense. Obviously it interferes with the free flow of information, broadcasting and naturally alerts their own people to the

Who Is Who at the Forum:

## Allen W. Dulles

Allen W. Dulles, director of United States top-secret Central Intelligence Agency . . . entered field in World War II as member of the Office of Strategic Services in Switzerland . . . later headed O. S. S. mission in Germany . . . awarded Medal of Merit and Medal of Freedom in 1946 . . . joined C. I. A. in 1951 and was designated director by President Eisenhower in 1953. . . .

Is sixty-one, born in Watertown, N. Y., graduate of Princeton and law school of George Washington University . . . doctorate of laws from Brown and Temple Universities. . . .

Entered United States diplomatic service in 1915 . . . duty in Vienna and Switzerland, and with American Commission at Paris Peace Conference . . . appointed First Secretary of American Embassy in Berlin in 1919 . . . chief of State Department's division of Near Eastern Affairs, 1922 . . . legal advisor to American delegation at Geneva Naval Conference and Disarmament Conferences 1932 and 1933 . . . practiced law in New York until World War II. . . .

Author of several books, including "Germany's Underground," 1947 . . . married, with three children . . . lives in Washington, D. C.

fear of the regime that our broadcasts will be heard.

## Echoed by Satellites

Their satellites merely echo Moscow's wishes. There is no single instance in the United Nations where a Soviet satellite deviated from the Moscow party line, or a single case in which a member of the Communist party—in France or Italy, for example—dared to vote contrary to the Kremlin's command. The ninety and nine Communists in the French National Assembly.

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the one hundred forty-three Communist Italian Chamber of Deputies, when they get their orders from Moscow, go down the line without an exception. Deviation is unknown, for deviation means death to a Communist, wherever the long arm of Soviet police power can reach.

The evidence of Communist fear of freedom and of any contact with it could be multiplied. This fear is their Achilles heel. We can and must exploit it.

At the same time, we must prevent the Communists from exploiting our freedoms against us. They come into our own backyard and use our liberties in order to destroy them.

#### Communist Abuses

Now here are some examples of this:

They use the freedom with which we publish information about almost everything, and the freedom to travel about the United States, to ferret out our military and industrial secrets.

They abuse the freedom of debate to make a mockery of parliamentary procedure in those countries where the Communist parties are represented. Where they have strong representation as in France and Italy, they often turn the deliberations of the assemblies into brawls and riots.

They have outstripped even the most cynical of the political machines in abusing the electoral process. For example, by frivolously challenging a million votes in the last Italian election, they improperly changed the results of that election for their benefit.

They have secretly infiltrated and in some countries gained control of labor unions, student groups and every variety of private organization in the Western world. They have exploited the fears of the war-weary, the grievances of the oppressed, the desire for freedom of those under colonial rule. By these means, they have established front organizations to prepare the way for bloodless coups or violent revolutions. Here in this country, we are fairly well awakened to these dangers, but in many countries, in Europe and in Asia, and even elsewhere in this continent, there are those who still are blind enough to believe that the local Communist parties are mere parties of social protest. They are in fact the hand of Moscow.

Our task as I see it is really three-fold:

First, we must vigorously develop our freedoms at home.

Secondly, we must extend such help as we appropriately can to those countries abroad which are the next likely targets of Communist penetration. We must help awaken in those countries a clearer realization of what will happen to them if international communism takes over. And when I say "we" I do not mean just the government of the United States. The great private American organizations have their role on this world stage, and working with similar groups in the free nations can do much to improve social conditions and strengthen the barriers that stand in the way of Communist success.

And, finally, we must make the most of the latent but nonetheless real force of freedom that has not been killed behind the Iron Curtain, even in Russia itself.

There is the plain evidence that the urge to escape to freedom is still a live and potent force. This applies to both Russia and the satellites. As you know, it is far from easy to satisfy this urge. This is particularly true of the people in the countries behind barbed wire where the obstacles are so great that only a percentage of those who attempt it make good their escape to freedom.

But look at what happens where a real opportunity exists. In the past five years, 1,800,000 have fled to freedom from Soviet East Germany—as I call it; why any one persists in aping the Russian terminology and calling it a "People's Democracy" I cannot imagine. More than a quarter of a million in these recent days have opted to leave Ho Chi Minh's Communist paradise in northern Viet Nam at the prospect of coming behind the Bamboo Curtain. Poles, Czechs and other European satellite people use every means—they even steal airplanes, trucks, trains, etc.—to break through the Iron Curtain. Those who succeed bring news that heartens us and I can assure you that their success also helps to keep hope alive in countries from which they come.

News of these escapes gets back to their home towns and villages through our radios and other even more subtle means. Compared with all those who have sought freedom in the West, the few frustrated failures who have defected to the East are relatively insignificant. They have sought and found a moment's publicity, but end in total oblivion in Soviet lands. Today we do not know the fate of these Western defectors. Possibly we never will.

dreds of thousands of human beings risk everything and often lose everything for the sake of freedom?

Those who break through the Iron Curtain sometimes have a hard time putting their feelings into words. But one Russian who recently chose freedom did find a way to say what he wanted to say:

"I wanted to live like a decent human being," he said. "I wanted to be treated decently and I wanted to be able to treat other people decently."

The man who said this is only thirty-three years old. He was born only four years after the Communist revolution. The only life he had ever known in Russia was life under Communist rule.

More than this, he had been a Soviet agent, who had been subjected to a searching Soviet loyalty and security investigation before being taken into the Soviet service, and he had been indoctrinated in the Marxist dogma with most particular thoroughness and care.

Yet in spite of all this he still wanted to live like a decent human being and he still knew that it was only in freedom that he could live like a decent human being.

#### "So Exciting"

Another escapee, a young girl, put her thoughts into these few words: "Freedom is so exciting."

This simple expression points up the contrast between the variety and opportunity of the free world and the gray monotony of routine in a regimented life.

Does this prove that the love of freedom is indestructible? Not necessarily. I think it proves something that must give us all a sense of sobering responsibility.

Those who have chosen freedom in the West have done so because they believe that freedom with us is alive and vital and brightly promising. Such a freedom is something they want to choose, something worth choosing.

In the Central Intelligence Agency we have, of course, been analyzing the causes and the events which led up to a country's loss of its freedoms. Some have been overrun and then held down by Soviet military forces of occupation. In other cases freedom has been destroyed because the people did not understand the meaning of liberty or the dangers which their freedom faced. They did not realize that they had to fight persistently to maintain these freedoms.

Daniel Webster stated a basic truth when he said: "God grants liberty only to those who love it and who are always ready to guard and defend it."

Our liberties here depend in no small measure on the survival of liberty abroad, and liberty abroad will depend on the cities here. In the maintenance of justice among men and nations.

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